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ADDRESS

ON

**PAN AMERICANISM *and the*
MONROE DOCTRINE**

BY

HONORABLE JOHN BARRETT

*Director General of the Pan American Union and former United States Minister
to Argentina, Colombia and Panama*

**DELIVERED AT A BANQUET OF THE
ILLINOIS STATE BAR ASSOCIATION**

**AT HOTEL LA SALLE, CHICAGO
FEBRUARY NINETEENTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED SIXTEEN**

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JOHN F. VOIGT
SECRETARY

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ADDRESS
OF
HONORABLE JOHN BARRETT
*Director General of the Pan American Union and former United States Minister
to Argentina, Colombia and Panama*
BEFORE
THE ILLINOIS STATE BAR ASSOCIATION
FEBRUARY 19, 1916

PRESIDENT MACCHESNEY: Gentlemen, I am sorry to break in on your animated conversation, but the time has arrived when I know you are all anxious to hear from Mr. Barrett. It seemed to the committee, when they were arranging for this meeting, that nothing could be of more interest to that part of the bar that is thoughtfully considering the foreign relations of the United States, than the relation of the Monroe Doctrine to some of the problems which we as a nation are facing, with all of Europe, and it becomes important to us to know what the future of the United States may be, and what relation the development of the other Americas may have to our own development. Perhaps no organization has done more to bring that home to the American people than has the Pan American Union. We have all heard a great deal about the Monroe Doctrine for a great many years. Some time ago it was thought it had gone out of fashion and should be abandoned; that that which had started out of the protection of the integrity of the South American nations had become an affront to them, and an intimation of superiority which was neither desired by them nor advantageous to us. But since the European war began many people have reconstructed their ideas upon this subject and are trying to think out what the policy of this country should be. And certainly the great Pan American movement, originating many years ago with Mr. Blaine, who came out here with the Pan American Congress which I remember as a lad attending with my father over at the old Grand Pacific Hotel, down through the very constructive work of Mr. Barrett, has formed a basis for development in Europe which we hope somehow may give inspiration for a solution of their problem so they may live upon some such basis as the countries of the Americas have been able to do. And no man in this country knows more about the relations of the Latin American countries, or can give us a message which will be more worth listening to upon the general subject of Pan Americanism or the Monroe Doctrine, than Mr. John Barrett, the Director General of the Pan American Union, and former United States Minister to Argentina, Panama and Colombia, who will speak to you tonight. (Applause.)

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MR. JOHN BARRETT: Mr. President, members of the Illinois State Bar Association, and Guests: I hope that I have shown my appreciation of the honor which you have done me in inviting me to speak tonight, by coming at a time when it is most difficult, as you may readily understand, to get away from Washington, and by the fact that this is one of only four or five invitations which I have accepted out of nearly two hundred received for this and the next month. The interest throughout the country is now so great in all phases of the effects and influences of the European war that it would seem as if every variety of organization, commercial, social, civic and scientific as well as legal, were anxious to know more about what might be called the present day Pan Americanism and the status of the Monroe Doctrine as affected by the European war. Recognizing the notable character of this organization, I accepted the invitation which was so earnestly tendered through your amiable, diplomatic and persistent President! (Cries of "good.") And I am very glad that his amiability, his diplomacy and his persistency won out in my case, for I have looked over this audience, I have been told who the majority of you are, and I feel as if I were being really honored by your presence here this evening. I recognize, however, that the honor is not to me, personally, but to the organization with which I am connected, and to the cause in which I am engaged. I can say this, however, that I do have, always, a real satisfaction in speaking to a representative audience of this city, this section and state. As I remarked to a group of men earlier today, I honestly and sincerely feel that, as far as public service for my country abroad or in Washington could permit, this state has been, practically, my residence for the last sixteen years. If I may be that personal, I would add that, born and brought up under the shadow of the green hills of Vermont, I betook myself, right after graduation, to the Pacific coast, never having been west of the Hudson River before, and was on the coast in the good state of Oregon when I was first appointed United States Minister. But later on my official labors unavoidably separated me from the state of my adoption, and I naturally sought to have a habitat in this state of Illinois where I felt the greatest attraction, where the only sweetheart I ever had lives, namely, my mother; and my brother also.

I have always found it to be true in my experience with foreign affairs, first when fifteen years ago I discussed the Philippines after some five or six years official experience in the Far East, and again since then when I have been discussing Latin American matters, that, if Chicago and this state get behind anything, you can count upon it that the rest of the country is also going to get behind it! From watching, for example, the attitude and the influence of the Chicago Association of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturers' Association in the great question of Pan American trade, I am aware that

they have been powerful factors and influences in awakening all of the commercial organizations throughout the country to the importance of that trade. I think I can say without exaggeration—and I am glad Mr. Nickerson is here to hear it—that the Chicago Association of Commerce responded more quickly and more actively to my first appeal which I made all over the country nine or ten years ago for practical and persistent effort and work towards the development of greater trade between the United States and Latin America, than did any other similar commercial organization in the United States. And this interest has had its direct effect. Before the commercial organizations in New York City or San Francisco or even New Orleans, had fully opened their eyes, so to speak, you here in Chicago had seen the vision and acted upon it. Today New York is taking many leaves out of your book, in its efforts to get into closer touch with the countries lying south of us.

I am well aware of what a busy state this is and of what a busy city this is, and how busy are the members of this association. You are not men of leisure, in the sense of having nothing to do but to go to the Club or travel about, but you have great responsibilities in your profession; or, if you are business men, you are all constructive men of the hour and have not much time—and it is no discredit to yourselves—to study the intimate phases of the relations of the United States to and with its twenty sister American republics. You have been so occupied in making good to your clients, you have been so occupied in extending the ramifications of your respective businesses, that you have not had time, any more than I have had time to study your individual work, to study the work of the Pan American Union and really to comprehend what kind of an organization that is down there in Washington which today is doing so much to develop and forward the new Pan Americanism and to make, as it were, the Monroe Doctrine a Pan American doctrine or policy.

Some of you have heard me tell this story before, but it so aptly illustrates what I want to say that I will run the risk of repeating it. I might say that the majority of you are not much more familiar with the development, history, resources and potentialities of the Latin American countries, or with the real history and the practical work of the Pan American Union plant, as I might call it, in Washington, than I was familiar with Siam when I had the honor of first being appointed Minister to that country—I will not say how many years ago! All of you men here were well along; the ladies were still in swaddling clothes! But I was so young that it would have been better if I had been spanked and kept at home instead of being sent out as a United States Minister. In those days I thought a man had to be at least President of the Illinois State Bar Association before he could qualify as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipo-

tentiary. I was in Washington. You know how men often go to Washington after the election of a new President! I was there, and was hoping to arrange some matters in my state that would be acceptable to all concerned when, just as I was about to say good-bye to the President, he said:

"Barrett, I am looking for some young man who isn't afraid of hard work and the tropics, who wants to make a reputation for himself, who doesn't know much about the country and, therefore, will not be prejudiced, to send out to Siam as United States Minister, to settle an important case involving several millions of dollars and the interpretation of our extraterritorial treaties."

The first thought that came into my mind was that he wanted me to suggest or recommend somebody; that he had decided, in the apportionment of his Ministers, that a Minister to "any old place" like Siam might come from my part of the country, and I began to think of some young man in my adopted state of Oregon whom I would like to get rid of, who would go so far away that he would never get back, or would die of the cholera! And when I was trying to think who were the most undesirable men upon my list, the President looked at me and said:

"Barrett, I am thinking of appointing you Minister to Siam, what do you know about that country?"

Well, I was so surprised that I hadn't a thought for a moment. To save my life, I couldn't remember whether Siam was in the south Atlantic or south Pacific, in Asia or in Africa. But I remembered that he said he wanted somebody that did not know too much about the country, and so I thought that if I could impress him with my knowledge I would escape the possibilities of cholera in that part of the world. Then there came to me a childhood memory; I braced up and said:

"I know, Mr. President, all about Siam."

He replied:

"You do? What do you know about Siam?"

And I answered with an assumption of great knowledge:

"Siam is the country that produced the immortal Siamese twins."
(Laughter.)

Whereupon, with a twinkle in his eye, he grasped my hand and exclaimed:

"Well, I am glad, indeed, to get hold of a man with such abundant information." (Laughter.)

Without going into the details of why I accepted, I can say that, when I did go out there, my eyes began to open. When I touched Japan, later Korea, thence proceeded down the coast of China to Hong Kong and then by the South China Sea around Indo-China and

up the Gulf of Siam to Siam itself, my eyes opened so wide with astonishment and admiration that it was at first difficult to close them. When I had been a little time in Bangkok, the capital of Siam, I found that I was in the most progressive kingdom of Asia, next to Japan. I found that the King of Siam was a most intelligent and highly educated monarch; who was descended through a distinguished ancestry; who spoke almost as excellent English as does your presiding officer; who lived in a palace equal in size and beauty to that of the Emperor of Germany, or, that I may appear to be perfectly neutral, to that of the King of England! There I saw the first automobile in which I ever rode; there I saw the first electric street car line ever constructed in all Asia; there I saw the first electric light plant that was ever built in a great Asiatic city; there I saw the first great woman's college erected by Asiatic money, by the King himself, in which were teachers from America and Europe educating the young women of that land as they would the women of our country. Then I remarked, as I wrote back to my friends here, "How is it that you have been so extremely busy and occupied back there that you allowed young men like myself to graduate from college without knowing of this great modern development in Asia?" And during the five or six years that I spent in the Far East I was continually striving to inform Americans about that part of the world, little realizing that presently it would befall me or be my next responsibility to aid in opening up another part of the world to the knowledge of our people.

When I came back to this country sixteen years ago, one of the first addresses that I had the honor of making on the Far East and our vast responsibilities and opportunities there and in the Philippines, I delivered in this city as the guest of honor at the annual Washington's Birthday meeting of the Union League Club. I remember that occasion as if it were yesterday. But I am not going to talk more about the Orient, although I wish I could speak more of it, for it was my privilege to have had friendly relationship with the present head of China, Yuan Shi Kai, and to have been in close association with the men in other parts of China who are figuring in its history and reorganization today. I am not here tonight, however, to discuss that great Asiatic field, with all its marvelous ramifications and potentialities—and mighty problems for the world and for our own country!

Now our characteristic ignorance of Siam is, I fear, characteristic also of our acquaintance with a majority of the countries lying south of us, but I hope when I am through tonight every one of you will go out of this room feeling a sense of new interest, a sense of new international responsibility that he or she has not had before. Not because I say it, but because of the inherent seriousness of the problem, involving the very life of this nation, the very prosperity of

this city, and the very greatness of this state. I do not say that in a careless way, to make words, but I say it, realizing who are the men to whom I am speaking.

To stand on, as it were, a proper platform of viewpoint and to grasp this question, we should understand what is the Pan American Union in Washington. In order that, from the very start I may have your interest, not based upon my own opinion, I am going to tell you the opinion of the Pan American Union held by a great English statesman. This English statesman some time ago stated that he was perfectly sure that if they had had in London or Paris, in Berlin or Vienna, in Rome or Petrograd, a "Pan European Union," an "All European" union, organized upon exactly the same plan as the Pan American Union in Washington, controlled and directed in a similar way, with the same kind of inspiration, there would never have been a European war!

Now, honor bright, gentlemen, do you want any greater compliment to the practical value of the Pan American Union that the statement that this greatest of all wars, greatest in its destruction to the ideals of civilization, greatest in its cost, greatest in its loss of life, could have been avoided if they had had a duplicate of the Pan American Union in the form of a Pan European Union in one of the capitals of Europe? And now I believe, having your interest, not on my own testimony, but on that of this English statesman, you want me to tell you why he had a right to make this observation.

I wish that I could transport you all bodily, this moment, to Washington, and escort you to the foot of Seventeenth Street, at the entrance to Potomac Park—past the White House, past that wonderful southern outlook of the White House which is, in my opinion, one of the most inspiring vistas in the wide world; past the Corcoran Art Gallery and the new building of the Red Cross and the home of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and show to you all that beautiful Palace of Peace and Commerce and Comity among the nations of the western hemisphere, that building which is literally—and think what this means—the *Capitol* of the western hemisphere in the national *Capital* of the United States, a description that applies to no other building in the wide world, in any capital under the sun!

And then I wish I could take you within its portals, past those noble groups of statuary, one representing North America and the other South America, through those great bronze grilled doors, past that exquisite exotic patio, the piece de resistance, in many respects, of the architecture of the building; then up the grand stairway, past the busts of the George Washingtons of the southern republics, into the Stately Hall of the Americas, which has been described as the most perfect room, architecturally, of the western hemisphere; and then

I would bring you finally to the Governing Board room, and then, as you stood there I would say to you, without any misuse of the term:

"Mr. Member of the Illinois State Bar Association, you are now standing in the *unique* room of the world."

That often misused word is not misused in that sense, because there is no other room like having to do with the relationship of nations anywhere in the world.

On the first Wednesday of every month, by international agreement and by official enactment, there assemble in that room, around a mahogany table of majestic beauty, the plenipotentiaries of twenty-one nations, the envoys of one hundred and eighty millions of people. There at the head of the table sits your Secretary of State, Robert Lansing; upon his right sits the Ambassador of Brazil, Senhor Domicio da Gama; upon the left sits Senor Don Eduardo Suarez Mujica, the Ambassador of Chile and late President of the great Pan American Scientific Congress; then again on the right of the Ambassador of Brazil sits Senor Dr. Romulo S. Naón, Ambassador of Argentina; then on the left of the Ambassador of Chile is the Minister of Bolivia, Senor Don Ignacio Calderon, and so on, each man having his seat according to rank, as follows: Senor Don Carlos M. de Pena, Minister of Uruguay; Senor Don Joaquin Mendez, Minister of Guatemala; Senor Don Frederico Alfonso Pezet, Minister of Peru; Senor Don Julio Betancourt, Minister of Colombia; Senor Don Hector Velazquez, Minister of Paraguay; Senor Don Eusebio A. Morales, Minister of Panama; Senor Don Emiliano Chamorro, Minister of Nicaragua; Senor Don Gonzalo S. Cordova, Minister of Ecuador; Monsieur Solon Menos, Minister of Haiti; Senor Don Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, Minister of Cuba; Senor Don Santos A. Dominici, Minister of Venezuela; Senor Don Rafael Zaldivar, Minister of Salvador; Senor Don Manuel Castro Quesada, Minister of Costa Rica; Senor Don Armando Perez Perdomo, Minister of the Dominican Republic; and Senor Don R. Camilo Diaz, Charge d'Affaires of Honduras. Senor Don Eliseo Arredondo, Ambassador-elect of Mexico, has not yet presented his credentials, but upon doing so will take his seat around this historic board. Around that table there is not a man who by his brain ability would not be fitted to occupy a seat in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, and many of them fitted to sit upon the Supreme Court of your state; all of them men who would be, if lawyers, qualified to join this Association; from their mentality, nearly all of them big enough to be the Presidents of their own lands, masters of history, students of diplomacy, scholars, philosophers, and in many cases, wonderful orators;—there, around that table once a month from one hour to two or three hours, those men talk about the affairs of the republics and the Pan American Union with as much friendliness and frankness as the directors of this

organization would consider its welfare around a friendly table, or as the members of your family would discuss your family affairs. Around that table now for two years these twenty-one representatives of the western hemisphere, from the United States on the north to Argentina on the south, have sat, shoulder to shoulder, keeping the Pan American bond unbroken and preventing the flame of the European war reaching with its disastrous scorching flames the shores of the western hemisphere. And today, if there is any one thought that inspires the meetings of that Governing Board, it is that the Americas must stand together now as they have never stood before in the history of this hemisphere. And when I tell you that during the nine or ten years in which I have had the honor to be the executive officer of that organization, it has helped to prevent several international wars upon the western hemisphere, you will realize that it is not an impractical, a theoretical organization.

Now, on the practical side: In that building is a staff of trained men, assisted by competent stenographers and clerks, who are experts in international law and commerce and statistics, also editors, compilers, translators, who are in touch with the whole western hemisphere, conducting a great international bureau of information, and carrying on a correspondence averaging three or four hundred letters a day. And we publish a monthly Bulletin—I have with me here the English edition—in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French, having more pages of reading matter and illustrations than any one of the popular magazines that you buy upon the news stand and, being official, can not have, of course, advertisements, but, in actual reading matter and illustrations, exceeding the average popular magazine. It is published, mind you, in Spanish, in French and in Portuguese, as well as in English, and the demand for it is nearly four or five times greater than we are able to supply. It is a magazine which, before the war broke out, the German Emperor described as the most interesting, instructive official publication in the world.

In that building we have the Columbus Memorial Library, in which there are now thirty-five thousand volumes of up-to-date Americana; which, by the international regulations, is made the repository by every government of its official documents, and which has one hundred and sixty thousand index cards. In our reading and map rooms are all the principal newspapers and magazines of Latin America, as well as maps and atlases and directories and every other kind of published informative matter which will spread the knowledge of Latin America throughout the United States and a knowledge of the United States throughout Latin America.

That organization, defined in a sentence, before I conclude my observations upon it, is the official, international organization of the twenty-one American republics—the United States, and its sister Latin

American republics—controlled by a Governing Board made up of all the plenipotentiaries of the Latin American countries in Washington, and the Secretary of State of the United States, who is Chairman, ex-officio; maintained by their joint contributions, each government paying just that part of the annual budget of expenses that its population is a part of the total population of the twenty-one republics; and administered by a Director General and an Assistant Director who are not appointees of the President of the United States in any sense, except that he has a one twenty-first vote, but appointed by all the Presidents of the western hemisphere, expressed through these representatives upon the Governing Board. Therefore, I have the honor, as I stand before you tonight, of being the only international officer upon the western hemisphere. And there is no other officer in the world that is thus elected to serve as the executive officer of an organization of a large group of nations such as is the Director General of the Pan American Union. This is said without egotism, for it was, and will be, equally true of, respectively, my predecessor and successor.

What I say to you tonight, therefore, is not based alone upon my experience and my patriotism as a citizen of the United States, but upon my knowledge of all those countries lying south of us, acquired by my traveling through them, by my studying them, by my trying to get behind, as it were, their thoughts; by my endeavoring to read the mind of the Latin American and think as he thinks. With my experience as your Minister in three of those countries—Argentina, Colombia and Panama—and my ten years' experience as the executive officer of the Pan American Union, I feel as if I had reached a point now where, whenever I talk to a Latin American, he has the feeling that he is talking to one whom he understands just as well as he understands his own countrymen; and where I have the feeling, when I talk to an Argentine, a Brazilian, a Colombian, a Chilean, a Mexican, a Guatemalan, a Cuban, a Venezuelan, or a man of any other Latin American Nationality that I have when I am talking with any of my friends or my kin here in the United States.

Now then, with that platform, as it were, to stand upon, with the eyes of the Pan American Union to look through, we come to the next and a very important phase of the evening's discussion. When I accepted this invitation, I said such an organization is worthy of some particular message that represents my real thought at this moment; and I weighed my thoughts very carefully. I went over this message, time and time again, and finally I boiled it down into a few words, comparatively speaking. I did not want to trust to extemporaneous utterance. It will take me only a few minutes to read it, and I hope it will sink deep into your minds, because it is inspired by a phase of the present situation that I do not think we have considered as carefully as we should have.

The air has been full of talk about preparedness, not only in organizations like this, but at social dinners and even in the cabarets. Everywhere preparedness has been talked about, and yet not one speech in a hundred, not one conversation in a thousand, has come down to the basic question: Why this preparedness? Now, naturally, the answer is, unpreparedness! Of course, I admit that, but on what ground is any country going to test the preparedness of the United States? That is the question, and there is only one answer, absolutely, and that is the Monroe Doctrine! There is no other possible great basic question in our relations with the nations, not only with those across the Atlantic but with those across the Pacific. With that thought in mind I wrote these words—concerning which I make only one reservation, as I do for all I say in this address, and that is that they of course express my personal views only and do not in any way commit the attitude of the members of my Governing Board:

"Illinois has a most direct concern in the present Pan American situation. No other state, unless it be New York, has an equal interest. The vast manufacturing, financial and agricultural development of Illinois will be so surely affected in the future by the growth of commercial, financial and political relations between the United States and each one of the twenty Latin American Republics that they cannot be blind to their responsibilities of this very hour.

"Speaking with the sincerity, first, of one who for fully fifteen years has regarded Illinois as his home state, although obliged in humbly serving it abroad and in Washington to be absent much of the time, and, secondly, of one who by his official position as United States Minister in several Latin American capitals, and later as the only international officer of all the American governments in Washington, has been unavoidably brought more intimately than possibly any one else into close touch with Pan American affairs, I appeal to you lawyers, representing the whole state, and, through you, to the men and women of all callings, to realize that the *United States is today face to face with an extraordinary crisis which may determine forever whether it will be an honored leader or a despised laggard among the nations of the western hemisphere and hence throughout the world, and for which it must prepare.*

"The ominous possibilities of what may happen at the conclusion of the European war involving, first, a final test by Europe or Asia of the real meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, and, second, an unprecedented and merciless competition of Europe and Asia with the United States to regain and enlarge their lost trade in Latin America, must be fully realized and prepared for! Illinois has too much at stake directly and indirectly in the outcome of such portentous development to sit by quietly for a moment and let the procession pass on.

"Illinois must realize what Latin America means to the United States and what the United States mean to Latin America. Illinois must grasp the fact that the very life and integrity of this great nation may depend upon preserving the integrity of each and all of the Latin American Republics against conquest at the hands of an European or Asiatic foe. Illinois must know that if European commerce driven by the war to desperation to recover its former vigor and position, gains the upper hand in Latin America after the war; it will be a question of long and exhausting years before the United States will be able to achieve leadership.

"While all Americans throughout all America—Pan America—from the United States south to Argentina and Chile, hope, pray and even believe that no European or Asiatic nation, or group of nations, will dare or be inclined to test the Monroe Doctrine through war with the United States and its sister American republics, and while it would seem a convincing argument that no victorious or defeated nation or group of nations will have the temerity, strength or desire to engage in another conflict with a fresh foe of such vast potential resources as the United States and its sister neutral countries of America, yet there is no such thing as absolute security in this grave situation.

"We cannot forget the cold blooded fact that now stares Pan America in the face: *Whichever way the war ends, there may be no love on either side for the United States and its sister neutral American republics. The victors may say that they won in spite of the United States and the other American republics; the losers may say that they lost because of the United States and Latin America.* The present serious diplomatic differences between the United States and both warring factions, the tone of the press of both sides, and the reports of newspaper correspondents and other Americans returning from Europe confirm beyond question this statement.

"Now then, the passions aroused by the war may be so terrible and lasting, the feeling of resentment on the part of the conqueror and conquered may be so keen and persistent, and the overwhelming sense of power that will result from the possession of a mighty veteran army of trained soldiers and a great armada of ships and sailors, and, again, the lust for the unimpovertished wealth and resources of the United States and Latin America to aid in paying the debts of the war and in recouping from its effects may be so appealing and impelling to the passions of the all-powerful victors that no man, no matter how sincere and earnest a pacifist, can confidently for a moment declare that the United States and Latin America are absolutely safe against such dangers.

"It is the knowledge of such possibilities that should inevitably evolve the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan American Doctrine, belonging

as much to Latin America as to the United States. With the Monroe Doctrine more alive than it has been since its declaration in 1823, the European war is forcing All America, in spite of the critics of the doctrine, in spite of its opponents and traducers, in spite of itself and its friends, and even in spite of whether Latin America wants it or not, to nail the standard of the doctrine to the mast of the Pan American ship of state and to stand by it now and hereafter as a Pan American doctrine and principle of international as well as of national integrity and defense. This should mean that for their own individual and collective salvation the *governments and peoples of Latin America would stand with all their moral and physical power and with all their resources for the sovereignty of the United States if it should be attacked by a European or Asiatic foe* as quickly as the United States would stand for the integrity and sovereignty of any or all of the Latin American republics if they should be assailed by an enemy from beyond the eastern or western seas.

“Realizing this extraordinary situation, let there be inaugurated in Illinois a widespread Pan American movement which will educate its people to the importance of the political and commercial relations of the United States with Latin America. Let Illinois develop a new appreciation and knowledge of our sister American republics and peoples. Let Illinois in its universities and colleges, in its public and private schools, and in its commercial, professional, social, fraternal and labor organizations, take up the study of our sister republics, their history, their commerce, their resources, their civilization, their languages, their literature, and their institutions. Let Illinois stand for the new Pan Americanism which means the development of a solidarity of permanent interest, an interdependence of commerce, finance and trade, an exchange of ideas and knowledge, a unity of political and economic purposes, a common preparedness and defense that will make Pan America and Pan Americanism forever the chief factors in world progress, world civilization and world peace.

“If what I have said arouses further interest in the Pan American opportunity and responsibility, I ask you to communicate with me at the Pan American Union in Washington, where that great organization, devoted to the development of commerce, friendship and peace among the American republics, is always ready to promote, through the spread of reliable information, the cause of practical Pan Americanism.”

I thank you for bearing with me so kindly while I read that message to you. I realized that while I read that many of you were thinking: Mr. Barrett, have you not exaggerated? Have you not exaggerated the meaning of Pan America? Have you not exaggerated the power of Pan America?

Now, let us see, what does Pan America mean? Literally, it means just what it says, All America. But in the definition of it today we do not include Canada or the other dependencies of European countries. Therefore, by Pan America we mean the twenty-one republics that reach from the United States and Mexico and Cuba on the north, to Argentina, Uruguay and Chile on the south. Do you realize that those twenty-one countries have an area of twelve millions of square miles, or nearly three times the area of Europe, almost as great as the area of Africa, and two-thirds that of Asia, without including the four million square miles of Canada? Do you realize these twenty-one countries have a population of one hundred and eighty millions. Do you realize, for we say "commerce is the life blood of nations," that these twenty-one republics in the last year before the war, 1913, conducted a foreign trade with the rest of the world and with each other valued at eight thousand millions of dollars; in other words, eight billions of dollars? That is Pan America!

Now let us segregate Latin America from the United States, to see what the power of Latin America means. "Latin America" is the correct term to use in describing the countries that reach from Cuba and Mexico south, not "Spanish America." We should never use the term "Spanish America" unless we wish to differentiate the rest of Latin America from Brazil. Brazil, which is almost equal to a third of the total area of Latin America, is Portugese in origin and language. Latin America is the correct phrase to use in describing this entire field south of us. Latin America comprises twenty countries, with a population of eighty millions, or eight tenths of our population, which is increasing more rapidly than our own population, and which off from the great eastern and western routes of travel, and before the Panama Canal was in full operation, conducted an annual foreign trade of three thousand millions of dollars, or, in other words, three billions of dollars. And that, in turn, represented an increase of one billion of dollars, or one thousand millions of dollars in the last ten years!

Now, honor bright, if these countries to which we have given such little attention can build up a trade of three billions of dollars before this war, and increase that trade one billion of dollars in ten years, no matter what you may have thought of them before, are they not deserving of your closest attention and study?

As we look upon this great field, however, do not let us lump it all together. Do not let us put it in, so to speak, one mass, any more than we would put all Europe together. There are greater differences between groups of Latin American countries than there are between Great Britain on the one hand and the Balkan States on the other. There is more apartness between Argentina and Uruguay, Chile and

Bolivia, on one side, and Central America on the other hand, than there is between England and Germany and France on the other side and the Balkan States and Russia on the other. This comparison is made with no reflection whatever on either grouping. And yet we are in the habit of lumping them all together, and we forget that each one of the Latin American countries is sincerely proud of its own individuality. The greatest mistake you can make is to call an Argentine a "Spaniard," or call a Cuban or Colombian a "Spaniard." You would not call an average man of any Latin American country a "Spaniard" any more than you would call a man who had lived in this country, or whose ancestors had been in this country one hundred years ago, a "German," an "Englishman" or a "Frenchman," You would call a "Spaniard" only the man who had kept his citizenship in Spain. And there are as great differences between the present up-to-date Argentine and Chilean and the old Castillian Spaniard as between the average American today and his ancestor of Great Britain or Germany. That should be borne in mind always when you meet these men or engage in trade with them.

There are three great and interesting segregations of Latin America. The first comprises Mexico, the five Central America countries, and Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti which are largely tributary to the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean sea. They form a group that has nearly thirty millions of population, and an annual foreign trade of over seven hundred millions of dollars, which represents an increase of nearly one hundred per cent in the last ten years. And every port of their Atlantic coast line of nearly six or seven thousand miles is less than eighteen hundred miles from the average port of the Gulf coast of the United States. Nearly three-fifths of the commerce of this section is with the United States; hardly two-fifths with Europe. Today over two-thirds of the travel of these countries is back and forth with the United States instead of with Europe. Think of the enormous potentiality of these countries, covering an area equal to all that portion of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, within eighteen hundred miles from the average Gulf port of the United States, or less than the distance, almost, from the city of Chicago to San Francisco! Under the influence and the example we have set at Panama in mastering and conquering the tropics, one of the most wonderful changes the world has ever known has been wrought along the low-lying, pest-ridden coast line of Central America and South America on the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico, which was formerly only the home of incipient revolutions, and has now become the home of prosperous cities and progressive peoples; and a vast area that no man penetrated is being made literally into gardens to supply the food products

that the United States needs, in the form of bananas and other fruit foods.

The second great segregation is that western coast of South America that has five thousand more miles of coast line from Panama to the Straits of Magellan upon the Pacific Ocean, including the coast line of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Chile, with Bolivia tributary through Peru and Chile. There we have a population of fifteen millions of people and an annual foreign trade of over five hundred millions of dollars, which it conducted before the Panama Canal was opened, in spite of the difficulties of approach through the Straits of Magellan. As you sail up and down that western coast line it looks barren and disappointing, but if you travel back into the interior you will find it possesses just as great potentialities for development as had California, Oregon and Washington, when they were first tapped by the railroads from the east and aided by the capital and emigration from the eastern part of the United States. Now, with the Panama Canal in full operation, as we hope it soon will be, and that coast made accessible to our commerce and our capital, there is no reason in the world why it should not go forward to just the same kind of marvelous development as California, Oregon and Washington and the states back of them, tributary to the Pacific coast, all enjoy.

The last of these mighty segregations is on the eastern side of South America, including vast Brazil, great Argentina, and little but resourceful Uruguay and Paraguay. Here we have a population of thirty to forty millions of people; an annual foreign trade of one billion, six hundred millions of dollars; an area of over four million, five hundred square miles, or greater than the entire area of the United States by a million and a half square miles, and yet still in the infancy of its development!

Now you possibly say: "Mr. Barrett, you are impressing us with these facts, but we want to ask you one or two questions." And I am very glad you thought of those questions, because they are natural, and I always believe that it is not fair to any audience, for the speaker to have it all his own way! So, as you are asking those questions in your minds, I am going to answer them.

You say: "Now, Mr. Barrett, this is interesting, we admit, but what about the instability of those governments? What about revolutions?" That is the first bogey! I am not good at destroying bogey at golf, as the majority of you, I presume are, but there are some bogeys in regard to Latin America that I love to kill, and the first one is in regard to revolutions. It is unfortunate that we have this prejudice because of sad conditions one or two of these countries, and have not realized the interesting fact that three-fourths of all Latin America

in area and population has known no revolution whatever in the last twenty-five or thirty years!

Honor bright, then, gentlemen, on what ground shall we be so unfair as to speak of them, as to segregate them all in one mass as revolutionary lands? While we are speaking of revolutions, let me say this: Latin America may have had many internal or civil conflicts, but the continent of Europe has had three times as many international wars, which are really the test of meanness and hatred, than have had the twenty Latin American countries during the last one hundred years! These revolutions have been *evolutions* rather than *revolutions*. Seventy-five per cent of the revolutions of Latin America have been evolutions into an improved condition! Some of them have been serious and terrible trials; some of them have not been evolutions into better conditions; but the majority of them, as history tells us by careful study, have been in that direction.

Then you say: "Yes, supposing you destroy that bogey, what of the climate? They are all tropical countries, Mr. Barrett, they are under a hot sun where great races can not develop." I am glad you asked that question, because I remind you, with all due respect, that God thought all that out before ever this Association had it in its mind!

First, we must bear in mind that all the great southern end of South America is in the south temperate zone. Southeastern Brazil, all of Uruguay, practically all of Argentina, part of Paraguay and practically all of Chile and, you might say, a large part of Bolivia because of its altitude, are in the south temperate zone. In other words, there is an area down there equal to all that section east of the Rocky Mountains, in the south temperate zone, with the same kind of climate that we have here in the United States. And how many of you realize that Argentina has a greater reach from north to south in the temperate zone than has the connected area of the United States of North America?

"Well," you say, "I can not deny that you have answered that question, but what of the great tropical belt itself?" Again, I answer, the wisdom of the Maker of all things settled that question before we thought it out. I do not know how many of you have traveled much through the tropical countries of Latin America, or how many are familiar with the delightful and wonderful experience of becoming intimately acquainted with a mule's back! It was my privilege to make a journey of over two thousand miles through the Andes of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela, and I learned more ways of getting on and off a mule than there are days in the year! It is sometimes a good way to get acquainted with these countries. All through Colombia and Ecuador and Venezuela and Peru and in the Central

American countries there are remarkable plateaus averaging from twenty-five hundred to ten thousand feet in altitude and right under the Equator, but they have a climate the year around, practically, such as they have in New England or in northern Illinois in June or in September.

When I had the honor of being your Minister in Bogota, the Capital of Colombia, almost within a stone's throw of the equator, I never saw the thermometer in my library go above 79; and every night in my sleeping room it went down to 59 or 60. And that is only one of a half dozen of such plateaus throughout that wonderful country. In time, when railroads are built from the coast line into the interior; when these great plateaus are made fully accessible; when foreign population and commerce come in, you are going to see a mighty change that will harness the almost immeasurable wealth of those mountains. The great water power of the Andes will be harnessed and irrigate those vast plateaus, bringing about a change which will astound the world.

The next bogey you throw at me is : "But why can't we do a bigger trade down there?" Now, I love to see that bogey thrown at me, because I do like to hit it with all my might!

Do you know that there is no greater error today, absolutely widely prevalent throughout this country, from the President of the United States down, than that the United States has not been doing a big commerce in Latin America, and that we are behind Germany and Great Britain? For the life of me, I can not understand why so many Senators and Congressmen, so many editors, so many so-called authorities on Latin America, will look right straight at the blackboard, see the exact facts and figures that can not be denied, and still say, what a pity that we do so little business in Latin America, and that we don't know how to build up our trade! Ninety-nine per cent of the men saying those things are still looking through the glasses of eight, nine and ten years ago, and they have the temerity, every now and then, to quote speeches which I made eight and nine years ago when those conditions were true!

Here is a fact for every one of you to put in his pipe and smoke over: In the year 1913, the last peaceful, average year before this war, before any of its influences could make trade greater or less, what happened? The total value of products exchanged between the United States and these twenty Latin American countries approximated eight hundred and ten millions of dollars. The total value of the products which Great Britain exchanged with these twenty countries south of the United States approximated six hundred and fifty millions, or one hundred and fifty million dollars less than our trade. How about Germany, of which we hear so much? The total commerce of Germany with the twenty Latin American countries in 1913

was approximately four hundred and ten million dollars, or practically only half of the total trade of the United States! I say, honor bright, why therefore all this talk, running down American manufacturers, criticising American commercial efforts, condemning American commercial methods? I will tell you why. It is because we take the isolated case of the man who doesn't know the field; we take the isolated case of the man who names the few countries where we are led by Germany and Great Britain, and puts these before us with such prominence that we forget the truth as to the entire field!

Which would you prefer, to have eight hundred and ten millions of dollars of trade with all Latin America and be beaten out by Germany in two or three of the twenty, or have only four hundred and ten millions of dollars in all Latin America and let Germany have eight hundred and ten millions?

It is true that in three or four of the countries of South America we are led, decidedly, by Germany and Great Britain in certain respects. But why should we pick out those few countries and draw that conclusion for all Latin America proper? South America proper has ten of the twenty countries of Latin America. We are led only in a few by Germany and Great Britain. But here is the fact that is most convincing of all: During the last ten years the United States has increased its trade in volume and value in those countries, even in the countries where we are beaten out by Germany and Great Britain, faster than have either of those countries.

This does not mean that we shall not make a supreme effort, just the same. It does not mean that the Chicago Association of Commerce, and all the other Illinois organizations, shall not do everything in their power to educate our people in the trade of that part of the world. This wonderful development we have had is due to the remarkable efforts of manufacturers, exporters and importers, many of whom are right here in Chicago, and deserving of splendid credit for what they have done. You are drawing conclusions without thinking of numerous manufacturers here in this state and neighboring states, and in this and other cities, who for years have been doing a growing trade in Latin America and know conditions down there perfectly. The thing is to get the average manufacturer and the average business man to go ahead on the same basis that these other men have done and build up a trade that will distance all Europe so that it will be impossible for it ever to displace the United States from its position. That is what, today, I am urging upon the American manufacturers to consider.

The final bogey is this: You say, "Mr. Barrett, what of this distrust, what of the dislike of the Monroe Doctrine?" That is a very foolish idea. The trouble is, again, that here we draw a conclusion from isolated cases. If one writer or editor down in Argentina

comes out with an article or editorial against the Monroe Doctrine or the United States; if one editor inveighs against them, it is repeated up here by all of our papers and statesmen as the opinion of all Latin America. Very likely not one of the greatest authorities of that country said anything to that effect. Not long ago the late President of Argentina wrote a book against the Monroe Doctrine, and many people here threw up their hands and said: "Look at that; I told you so!" But it didn't create a ripple in Argentina. You read the editorials of some of your Chicago and New York papers, and you think that he apparently voiced the sentiment of all Latin America! They overlook what Mr. Romulo S. Naón, that able, progressive young Ambassador of Argentina is preaching over this country. They listen instead to a man that was already half in the grave when he wrote his Anti-Monroe doctrine book. They listen to the sophistries of Anti-American orators but pay too little heed to the words of a leader like Eduardo Suarez Mujica, the Ambassador of Chile, who knows the sentiments of these countries more than these men who seek only popular favor.

If I had time I could read to you parts that I have picked out from a chapter of a book that I am now writing on Pan Americanism, and I could prove to you beyond question that not a word of credit should be given to talk *against* the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine was born in the spirit of Pan Americanism. It was born in the spirit of the relationship among the nations of the western hemisphere. Pan Americanism was a mighty influence in this country twenty-five years before the Monroe Doctrine was declared. I could quote here, if I had the time, the words from that great character of Venezuela, Miranda, in 1788, which were almost as remarkable as those of Monroe. And then I could quote to you the words of Simon Bolivar, the George Washington of Northern South America, who pointed out the necessity of Pan American co-operation along the very lines that the Monroe Doctrine specifically brought out. When Bolivar made the call for the first great Pan American Conference which met in Panama in 1826, he repeated sentiments that he had uttered a score of times during the past twenty years.

Juan Pablo Vizcardo y Guzman, a Peruvian patriot and priest, in a paper he left with the United States Minister in London, where he died in 1798, urging independence for his countrymen of South America said:

"The recent acquisition of independence by their neighbors in North America has made the deepest impression on them."

Dean Gregorio Funes, an Argentine patriot, wrote in 1819:

"The North American Revolution, and the recent French one, revived among us the natural rights of man."

The President of Chile, when he received Joel Roberts Poinsett, as United States Consul General, on February 24, 1812, said:

"That power (the United States) attracts all our attention and our attachment. You may safely assure it of the sincerity of our freindly sentiments."

In the famous "Declaration of the Rights of the Chilean People", made by Juan Martinez de Rosas about 1810, he gave expression to the following remarkable Pan American sentiments, which might apply almost as well today as they did them:

"1. The people of Latin America cannot defend their sovereignty single-handed; in order to develop themselves they need to unite, not in an internal organization, but for external security against the plans of Europe, and to avoid wars among themselves.

"2. This does not mean that the European states are to be regarded as enemies; on the contrary, the friendly relations with them must be strengthened as far as possible.

"3. The American states must unite in a congress in order to endeavor to organize and to fortify themselves The day when America, united in a congress, whether of the two continents, or of the South, shall speak to the rest of the world, her voice will make itself respected and her resolve would be opposed with difficulty."

Think of it! Every Latin American country approved of those sentiments then, to unite Pan America not in an international organization, but for external security against the aggressions of Europe and to avoid war among themselves. Do you ever want better Pan Americanism than those sentiments expressed one hundred and six years ago, by the people of Latin America?

Pan Americanism does not mean that European states are to be regarded as enemies. There is nothing in Pan Americanism that is antagonistic to Europe unless Europe so desires to construe it. On the contrary, the friendly relations with them must be strengthened as far as possible.

Do you know that in 1811 President Madison sent a message to Congress that embodied almost the words of the Monroe Doctrine? Then again Samuel Mitchell, member of Congress from New York, on December 10, 1811, introduced a resolution, which was unanimously approved by Congress, and contained practically all the sentiments of present day Pan Americanism and also of the Monroe Doctrine. In 1812 John C. Calhoun announced his conversion to the cause of Pan Americanism, and the necessity of the United States standing with the Latin American countries in their efforts to gain their independence. You know the hold on this country that the great Jefferson had. In 1808 he wrote to Governor Claiborne, at New Orleans, in reference to the Cuban and Mexican war: "Consider their interests and ours as the same, and the object of both must be to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere." Thomas Jefferson said

this in 1808! And yet they try to make us think that England and Canning deserve the credit for inspiring the Monroe Doctrine, declared in 1823! Jefferson, again in 1820, three years before the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, expressed those same sentiments. Down in Buenos Aires, in 1810, they discussed the necessity of Pan American action to defend the new sovereignties which were arising in the western hemisphere.

You know the trouble we are having today with Colombia, and yet Torres came from Colombia as the first diplomatic representative of Latin America and in 1816 demanded of the American people that they should write a Monroe Doctrine. He did not call it that, but urged that they should express sentiments to the same effect.

And so I might go on, quoting and quoting. I have only touched a few of the high places, in order that you may realize that what we are trying to do today is only carrying out what was started long ago. And do you stop to think that there is no greater Pan American in all American history than Henry Clay? Do you realize that when Henry Clay died he said that he believed his greatest service, or the one that would last the longest in history, was what he did for the republics of Latin America? The greatest speeches Henry Clay delivered in Congress were those of 1816, 1817, 1819 and 1820, in behalf of the Latin American countries. It was he who responded to Bolivar's appeal for a Pan American Congress at Panama in 1826, and who sent delegates after the United States Congress had three times refused to make an appropriation, although they arrived too late. Just before Bolivar died he wrote a wonderful letter to Henry Clay and invoked the praise of future ages upon him for making the independence of the Latin American countries possible.

And what of Daniel Webster? His greatest service in his later years was his allegiance to the Monroe Doctrine inspired by the spirit of Pan Americanism which it carried.

These are things we must weigh carefully and surely, when we are studying this great Pan American situation and are trying to understand relationship of the Monroe Doctrine to the present.

Today there is this great thought in the minds of nearly all Latin American statesmen: We are coming back now to just where we started the Monroe Doctrine; that today, in 1916, it is just as necessary, and perhaps more necessary than it was in 1816, only extended and unfolded until we have a mighty organization of twenty-one governments to stand back of it and make the world respect it, whereas then there was only one independent nation in the western hemisphere that could stand for it.

Gentlemen, Latin America objects not to the Monroe Doctrine in itself, because the study of history will not permit it. What it objects

to is the interpretation that so many of our statesmen and essayists and writers and authorities on international law have given it, upon their own authority. Latin America objects to the idea of superiority and patronage on the part of the United States. Latin American nations are ready to accept the Monroe Doctrine as a Pan American policy which recognizes their equality with the United States.

I wish I had time this evening to take you, so to speak, for a birdseye view of some of the remarkable features of Latin America. I could tell you how we could put all of the connected area of the United States inside of Brazil, and still have room for Illinois twice over. I could tell you how, out of the Amazon River every day flows a greater volume of water by five times than out of the Mississippi and its tributaries, plus the Columbia; how Rio de Janeiro, its famous capital is located on the most beautiful harbor in the world and has a population of one million two hundred thousand. How Uruguay, which is an ambitious state to the south of Brazil, has a capital, Montevideo, with four hundred thousand population, and has expended ten million dollars on a great harbor for the growing trade of the Atlantic Ocean. I wish I were an orator that I might do justice to that fair land of Argentina, where I was once your Minister. You could put nearly half of the United States inside of Argentina. Buenos Aires, its capital, is the largest Spanish speaking city in the world; the largest city in the world south of the equator; the second Latin city of the world, ranking next to Paris; the third city in the western hemisphere, ranking after New York and Chicago; a city which today has a population of 1,750,000; a city that thought little of spending twenty-five millions for a great subway system; forty millions for a great system of docks and wharves; and twenty millions for a broad avenue through the heart of the city. It possesses the finest club in the world; the finest opera house in the Americas, and, with all due respect to the News, the Herald, the Tribune, the Post, the American and the Journal, it possesses the finest newspaper plant and building in the wide world!

Then I would like to take you over the great railway systems of Argentina, and into the interior, to realize its possibilities, but I have not time.

So across the Andes we fly, and come to remarkable Chile. We do not stop to think that we could put the whole Atlantic coast, from Maine down to Florida, inside of Chile; that, if we put the south end of Chile down at San Diego on the Mexican line, the north end of Chile would not stop at Oregon, at Washington, at British Columbia or at the Alaska line, but reach away up into the heart of Alaska! We do not stop to think that Chile is a country with nearly three hundred thousand square miles, often called the Yankeeland of South America, in the south temperate zone, directly south through the Panama Canal. We do not stop to think that Santiago, its capital, sometimes called

the Paris of the Andes, has a population of five hundred thousand, and that at Valparaiso, Chile's port, a city of two hundred and fifty thousand, they are building a great artificial harbor that will be the finest of its kind upon the Pacific.

We do not stop to think that into Bolivia we could put Texas twice over and then add this wonderful state. Into Peru we could put the whole Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia. And we forget that down there in Lima, its capital, they had a university one hundred years old, before John Harvard or Eli Yale thought of founding the universities which carry their names.

And then there are Ecuador and Paraguay. I might speak of them, but I have not time. In either of them you could put Illinois twice over and a little more. And then: Colombia and Venezuela. Just think of it! From the most southern port on our coast line, Key West, to the nearest point of Colombia or of Venezuela is less than the distance from New York City to Kansas City! Into Colombia, with four hundred miles of coast on both the Atlantic, or Caribbean, and the Pacific, you could put the entire German Empire and France. In Venezuela you could include the greater part of France and Spain.

And so I might go on describing Panama, the five Central American republics, Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, but I have not time, beyond reminding you of a few general facts.

Do not think for a moment that I speak of Latin America as being an El Dorado; it has its shortcomings. There are serious difficulties facing our commerce and our trade. There are real discouragements ahead of us before we shall have all of the conditions that we desire. But what would our country be, what would Chicago be, what would this great Mississippi Valley be, if it had not been for the fight that our ancestors had to carry on to evolve present conditions? What would our own Pacific coast be, and our mountain country, except for the overwhelming difficulties of all kinds that our ancestors fought and mastered before those sections reached their wonderful, present day civilization and progress? We must not expect that in a twinkling of an eye there is any magic that can suddenly transform Latin America into an ideal part of the world. It will take time to evolve its new life. But the United States must lead the way. Upon the Pan American future depend our life and our prosperity. Let us hope that when the European war is over, there may not a line go up and down the Atlantic Ocean with Europe and Asia on one side and Pan America on the other? And, fearful though the thought may be, let us pray that there may not a line go up and down the Pacific, with Japan and China on one side and Pan America on the other? But we must think of these things even if they seem remote possibilities. If, then, a line were drawn east and west, cutting off Latin America, with all of her resources and relationships, and finally

another line, cutting off Canada, for we know her allegiance would be with another land, the United States would become the greatest Belgium in the war history of the world!

These are thoughts we must consider. They are not the words of an alarmist. They are not sensational sentiments. They are our sound suggestions, as we study the situation. As I go away I want to leave a kindly thought in your minds. I realize, from my experience in this world, that after all, the great controlling influence to weld nations together, just as it is the great controlling influence to weld men and women together, is sentiment; we may call it love! the most wonderful thing in the world. That same love is going to be the most powerful factor in holding the nations of the western hemisphere together in the future, for love among both human beings and nations is founded upon mutual confidence, upon trust of one in another, and upon the intimate association of those concerned. Now, then, how many of you have stopped to think of the great tie of sentiment that binds Latin America to us, without reference to what may be your thoughts about the commerce of the United States with those countries? How many realize that every one of these twenty countries lying south of the United States wrote its Declaration of Independence upon the Declaration of the Independence of the United States, not upon any document of Spain, of Portugal, of France, of Germany, or of Great Britain? How many of you realize that every one of these countries wrote its Constitution, not upon the Constitution of any European land no matter how close the ties of blood and language, but every one of them wrote its Constitution upon that of the United States. Great Britain, Germany, France, have no such ties as these with any group of nations in the world. These are ties before God, that we can never break, because they are part of absolute history. And, no matter what may be the trend of future events, there are the facts as great mainsprings of inspiration for our interest in those lands and for their interest in us.

Then again there is the influence of the immortal Washington. The other day, when I went down to Richmond and into the rotunda of its old capitol, I almost fell upon my knees to worship, so to speak, the statue of Washington, because it was the figure, the original bronze, that Houdouin himself wrought, in the very time of Washington. And as I gazed at that figure of Washington, wrought when Washington was alive, I felt as if I were in touch with that mighty man of the early days of our land, and I was tempted, inspired, to say to him that I brought the homage of all Latin America, because history tells us this fact, that nearly every great general and patriot of Latin America, who fought for the independence of his land, at one time or another stated that he was inspired to make the struggle for the liberty of his country, by the example of the immortal George Washington!

I have now led up to the final picture that I want you to have in your minds when you go away; the contrast of the civilizations of Europe and of Pan America, as a reason why all of you should go out of this room tonight as sincere Pan Americans, not merely as citizens of this state and city and section, but as citizens of all the United States and of Pan America, with a responsibility greater than you have ever known before.

The operator turns the reel, the curtain rises, and the films move on. It is Europe? No, it is hell! We see nothing but armies, men and women, children, dynasties, civilizations, pouring over the brink of war's despair into the pit of hell! We see the mighty civilization of thousands of years being destroyed under the withering fire of the greatest conflict of forces that the world has ever known, and before long our eyes are closed in sheer weariness at the sight of destruction and death and ruin on every hand.

Then this curtain goes down, to rise again on another scene. The operator again turns the reel; the films move on; they portray Pan America and we see the marvelous picture of sister nations working harmoniously together; we see the great Pan American Scientific Congress in Washington, the greatest international gathering that Washington has ever known, the greatest Pan American gathering which ever met upon the western hemisphere, when two hundred official delegates, representing every country of the western hemisphere, with their wives and children, assembled under the shadow, as it were, or under the light, of the Capitol of the United States, and there sang the songs and told the stories of peace and love and friendship and concord and concert, as never before have been sung and told there in the history of this western hemisphere.

Finally the operator gives us one dissolving noble view, a Godly scene—a scene of prayer and thankfulness. It takes us down the Cordillera, down through Central and South America, far south to the dividing line between Argentina and Chile. There, fifteen thousand feet above the sea, with its snowy Andean peaks for a background, the rolling plateaus of Argentina on one side and the mountains of Chile on the other, we see standing high a heroic figure of the Christ, the Savior of men, erected there some fifteen years ago by Argentina and Chile, when, with greater cause for war than have had the countries of Europe, but inspired by the principles of Pan Americanism, inspired by the ideas of the civilization of the western hemisphere, inspired by a desire to set an example not only to Pan America, but to all the world, they settled their difficulties by arbitration and built this bronze figure of the Christ, with arms outstretched over Chile and Argentina as if to bless them with everlasting peace; and then they inscribed upon its base an immortal sentiment which will always be an inspiration to all nations of Pan America and eventually of the world, to this effect: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble to dust than shall Argentina and Chile go to war."

(Long and continued applause.)

DINNER

TENDERED TO THE

HONORABLE JOHN BARRETT

DIRECTOR GENERAL, PAN AMERICAN UNION

AT HOTEL LA SALLE, CHICAGO

SATURDAY EVENING

FEBRUARY THE NINETEENTH

NINETEEN HUNDRED SIXTEEN

GUEST OF HONOR

HONORABLE JOHN BARRETT
Director General, Pan American Union



THE PRESIDENT'S TABLE

The President, NATHAN WILLIAM MACCHESNEY

At the President's right

HONORABLE JOHN BARRETT
ALBERT D. EARLY, ESQUIRE
REVEREND EDMUND BYRNES
EDGAR B. TOLMAN, ESQUIRE
MR. JOHN H. WOOD
MR. HERBERT F. PERKINS
PROFESSOR ARTHUR EMIL SWANSON
FREDERICK A. BROWN, ESQUIRE
MR. E. T. GUNDLACH
JOHN F. VOIGT, ESQUIRE

At the President's left

MR. J. F. NICKERSON
LOGAN HAY, ESQUIRE
MR. WILLIAM C. COOK
GEORGE H. WILSON, ESQUIRE
MR. BENJAMIN CARPENTER
P. J. O'KEEFE, ESQUIRE
MR. F. EDSON WHITE
MR. WILLIAM B. WALRATH
MR. THOMAS J. HAIR

M E N U



CRABMEAT LA SALLE

CREAM OF CELERY

MIXED OLIVES

RADISHES

ROAST TENDERLOIN OF BEEF, PIQUE

FRESH MUSHROOM SAUCE

POTATOES_AU_GRATIN

CARROTS AND PEAS IN CREAM

HEART OF LETTUCE

ROQUEFORT DRESSING

MERINGUE GLACÉ

COFFEE

CIGARS

INVOCATION
REVEREND EDMUND BYRNES



AFTER DINNER

Introduction

NATHAN WILLIAM MACCHESNEY
President of the Association

“Pan Americanism and The Monroe Doctrine”

HONORABLE JOHN BARRETT

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